845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal [164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̄'ɛ̄, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out 844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngŏ'b IV, not to be confused with ngŏb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dŏb, plural mŏb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edŏdŏb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akŏ'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum [278] gratissimum L. (asŏ'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house. 851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child. 853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in 000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

1. Names and Name-giving

553 951 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detachment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

551 I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, together with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N = northern Pangwe, S = southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġé (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc..., and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndómó usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndómó only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba'ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndómó: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndómó relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the
● 89 woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The
948 proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe, may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be lifted by a collective purificatory rite (érye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly. There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[689]

A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

● 851 847 553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

As soon as the child has been given a name, his father takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the